

ENGLAND Must Pay the Piper.

BEING A SEASONABLE DISCOURSE ABOUT Raising of Money this SESSION.

In a Letter to a Member of the Honourable House of Commons.

SIR,

According to your commands I waited upon Sir R. W. at his return from the Country, and discoursed him concerning the matter you gave me in charge about raising of money this Session of Parliament, and found him so prepared to give me satisfaction therein, that he had Writ a small Tract on that Subject, which he was so Obliging to lend to me to Transcribe, which I here send you without any Alteration; he having designed it for a member of Parliament; and it is as followeth.

Sir,

I Think it past Dispute, that there is not one man of an hundred who would in any manner have contributed to this Revolution, if they could have foreseen, that thereby we should have been engaged in so durable, expensive, and destructive a War, in Defence of the Dutch, and other Confederates; not only to the eternal Scandal of our Loyalty,

Religion, Honesty, Justice, Honour, and Morality; but to the Waste and Consumption of our Stores of Arms and Ammunition, the Loss of our Ships and Men, the Inundation of Foreign Force, to the very enslaving the Nation to their Interest, Councils, and Conduct, and the utter beggering of our selves, by the Decay of Traffick and insupportable Taxes.

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Yet

Yet all this might have been more patiently born, if we had found a sincere and cordial Prosecution of the glorious Ends; which were pretended, of a full Enjoyment of our Christian and Civil Liberties and Properties, as true, free-born Englishmen, which were suggested (as things invaded in the late Reign,) to be taken special care of.

How far we have been disappointed in these particulars, may be the subject of another Discourse; resolving at present to confine my self only to the Question about raising of Money.

Since my going into the Country I have sadly experienced to what Indignities the Farmers and Tenants are reduced, by the Decay of Trade, the Lowness of the Markets in Corn, Cattel, and Wool; the Squeezing of their Purles to the utmost Mite, by successive and redoubled Poils and Taxes; the Harassing the whole *Mitris* of the Kingdom, to the Expence of more than two Poil-bills more, when the Council knew full well that the French Fleet had no Land-men on board to make a descent; to which may be added, the universal Pressing of Labourers and Servants, whereby necessary Hands were wanting for Tillage and Harvest. From hence it is that we can neither get our Rents, nor the Country men Money for their necessary subsistence.

In this third, deplorable Condition they are almost sunk into despair, at the Intelligence given them of a Debt of four or five Millions yet remaining, after the six Millions paid by them, or raised out of the Revenue; and that this must necessarily be advanced this Session, besides a Fund of three Millions more the next Spring, for the ensuing Campaign.

You very well know, that it was the expectation of the Commonalty of the Kingdom, that at the last Meeting of the Parliament they would have perfected the Bill of Commission of Enquiry for the Money already given, how it had been expended. Your Fellow Commoners challenge at your hands a satisfac-

tion in this particular, before you give a farther Supply; and thus with the strictest Examination.

And since we are so inclinable to pursue Dutch Councils, and espouse their Interest; it is but reasonable we should likewise imitate their Constitution; especially in this particular of Raising Money, not to determine it before the Commons (as their States do in the Affairs of greatest Moment) consult, and obtain the Approbation of all the Counties, Cities, and Burroughs; which, if ever, at this Juncture is most requisite, and would be the greatest Instance of the People's true Liberty, that ever had been granted by any of our Kings, in confirmations of our *Magna Charta*.

This they judge the more reasonable and just, because it is every where bruted, that the Officers both at Sea and Land, especially the English, are nine or eleven Months in Arrears of Pay. I have it from a Captain, who served in *Ireland* under all the Hardships of Duke *Schomberg's* Campaign, that when they arrived at *Dublin*, they had but three Months Pay of thirteen then owing to them, with a Complement, that they should stay there to spend it.

Besides this, we are told of the vast Sums owing for Money taken up at Bankrupts Interest, and for Provisions also of Ammunition, taken up on Credit at excessive Rates; and farther, I am told, that if we had not seized the *Swedish* Ships, laden with Masts, Pitch, Tar, and Materials for Cordage, we could not out of our exhausted Stores, have rigged out our Fleet at this Season, when it was well known, how infinitely provided it was two years since.

Farthermore, the Common Soldiers make a general Complaint, that they scarcely have had subsistence Money, whereby they have been necessitated, either to take free quarter, or rob and pilfer, or over-awe their Hosts to take what they would please to give them, though some are so good natured as to pawn their Coats and Hats for Bread and Drink;

Drink: All which conduceth to the farther impoverishing of the Countrey.

It must indeed be owned, that it may be thro' a politic Design, the Officers are thus treated, whereby they may be kept in a stricter dependence on the Government, for fear, lest if they should quit the Service, they might lose their Arrears; and many dying, by Sickness or Battel, will save the publick so much as is owing to them; for I believe you can find few Instances, that any Heirs or Executors, Widows or Orphans, were better for the Legacies of Arrears, either left by Officers, or Common Soldiers, or Seamen. Upon the whole, I find that many inquisitive and judicious Persons, calculating the Income of the Exchequer, and the Expence, are of opinion; that there is no reason for such Arrears, but think it demonstrable that either there is some secret *Agreement*, which must be concealed from the Nation, to furnish the Confederates with Sums of Money from hence, or that the foreign Troops are better paid than the English, or that by Combination Treasures are hoarded up by our Ministers of State for a comfortable Subsistence against a Storm.

It hath ever been the care, as it is the Duty of the House of Commons, to supply the publick Wants of the Government with Money proportionable to the necessities of Affairs: But withall they have been carefull in all Kings Reigns, to see that the Money so given was truly expended, for those ends for which it was given. And they have stily denied Supplies, till they were satisfied in the necessity, and with the publick Emolument which was like to accrew to the Commonwealth by such Expence, and have been always carefull to avoid foreign Councils and Forces, from having Influence over the Government. And when upon weighty Considerations they have thought it expedient to give Money, they have taken special care to intrust the Managery thereof in safe Hands, as may be found, upon all such

occasions, in the Journals of the House; otherwise they deserved not to be the People's Representatives and Trustees.

You know full well you have been singled out, upon special confidence in you, to prepare and consent, on their behalf, to such Laws as are for publick benefit; yet it is well known, that in the respective Countreys you leave behind you a much greater number of Persons of Quality, no ways inferior to your selves in Estates, Interest, and love of their Countreys Prosperity; so that in common prudence, you ought to have regard how you oppress them, their Relations, Friends and Dependents.

Wherefore in the matter of Money, you ought, in respect to them as well as your own Posterities, to suspend your giving of Money till you be able to give them sufficient satisfaction, that what hath been given is truly expended, and that the raising of more is for the publick Good of the Commonwealth of the Kingdom.

I presume the Inducement which will sway you most in this matter, will be that *Ireland* may be subdued, and that *France* may be brought to so low a condition, that the King thereof may be compelled to yield to the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and other the Confederates, what ever he hath by his Arms dispossessed them of.

If therefore I make it appear, that it hath not been the aim of such as have influenced our Affairs, to reduce *Ireland*, but rather, as it appears by the consequence of things, the Design hath been, under that Pretext, to raise Money to distribute amongst the Confederates, according to some secret Articles not communicated to the Houses, and to purchase at any rate foreign Forces, to the great hazard of the enslaving us to them. And if I make it appear that without the Confederates will bear a considerable part of our Charge, we shall not be able to keep in conjunction with them; or can, though we should

should pawn our Estates to raise Money, be able to bring *France* to terms, as affairs are managed abroad. If, I say, I clear these two Points to your satisfaction, I hope you will then conclude, that the giving more Money will be but pouring Oyl into the Fire, which will finally consume us.

I shall begin with *Ireland*.

It is well known that when the P. of O. took upon him the Administration of the Government, before the Convention had conferred upon him the Regal Title, the Protestant Interest in *Ireland* was little inferior to that of the Roman Catholics, and a small Supply from hence would have cast the Scales.

There are Noblemen who can tell, if they please, that even then an Overture was made, that upon distributing 30000 *li.* among certain Officers in *Ireland*, they would have undertaken that the Army there should have submitted. And it is as well known to those Noble Persons who it was that would not allow above 20000 *li.* to be expended on that account, and so the Project fell: But we have reason to believe, that to support the Confederate Interest, twenty times as much hath been disbursed to *Germanes, Danes, and Dutch*, to the *Swiss-Cantons*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and other Allies.

It is worth a serious Enquiry, whence it happened, that Colonel *Lundy*, who was accused for having treacherously deserted the Defence of *London-Derry*, and Col. *Richards*, and *Cunningham*, who were charged with Cowardice, in not adventuring to conduct the Forces under their Command to the Relief of the same, were onely imprisoned and cashiered, but were never brought to any Tryall. Or why M. G. *Kirk* lay six Weeks in *Lough Foyle*, without attempting to relieve the Town, till 5000 of the Soldiers and Townsfolk were dead by Famine and Sicknes; yet when it was reduced to the last Extremity, he found it no difficult work to send in Supplies,

When D. *Schomberg* went to *Ireland*, he carried with him an Army sufficient to have vanquished a much greater force than King *James* then had, considering they were neither disciplin'd, arm'd, nor provided with Artillery or Ammunition in any Plenty at that time; so that he might with much facility have then marched to *Dublin*, the Soldiers being exceeding earnest for that purpose. But, it seems, it was not then thought seasonable to effect so necessary a Work; but that great General, very advisedly, suffered two parts of his Army to perish in the most miserable manner that ever English-men did in their own Camp.

Let us now reflect upon what hath been done since the Success at the *Boyne*: When K. *James* was fled; and, as our publick Intelligences informed us, there were not 2000 Irish left in a Body; Was this Victory pursued? Or the affrighted Irish closely followed? No, they had time given them to rally again, about *Asblone, Limerick*, and *Galloway*.

To this may be added, that Duke *Schomberg* declined the arming of the Irish Protestants, till absolute Necessity compelled him to it, for the Recruit of his Army, and the like was denied after advancing beyond *Dublin*; till the News came of the Defeat the French had given us at *Sea*: Whereas those Men, both for their Zeal to the Cause, and their Experience in the Countrey, as well as unaptness to the Diseases of the Climate, might have been of great use, if a speedy reducing of that Kingdom had been designed.

It must be owned that there were some, who truly desiring Dispatch, moved that a Proclamation might be published, whereby such Terms might be afforded, as the Irish, during their Consternation, might be the likeliest to comply with; and thereupon yield up their Arms, and Strong Holds: For which purpose it was proposed, that such as so submitted, might be pardoned.

done Life, and enjoy their Estates according to the Settlement in *K. Charles* the 2^d's time; imposing some pecuniary Mults on some few of the most obstinate, and that an Indemnity should be granted to the common sort, upon yielding their Arms, and obliging themselves to Obedience.

But this was opposed, and it is known by whom, upon a Reason well worthy Observation, *viz. That a Promise had been made to the Counts and Officers, Germanes, Danes, and Dutch, that they should have Lands distributed among them, after the Conquest of the Countrey:* Which Promise could not be performed, if any of the Irish who had been in Arms, were permitted to enjoy their Estates.

From hence we may learn the true reason why the Dutch and Danes brought over so many hundreds of Women and Children, who went over to *Ireland* with the Army, no doubt on Promise of sharing that Kingdom, and planting Dutch and Danish Colonies, as a Reward of their Service.

Upon those Reasons that sort of Declaration was laid aside, and the other published, which only pardoned the submitting Commoners their Lives, but left all of the better sort to the Rage of the Soldiers, and the Penalty of forfeited Rebels.

Upon the Publication of this, all the Gentlemen, and Landed Men, finding what they were to rely upon, combin'd with great Resolution to defend themselves, and their Countrey, by a vigorous Resistance: So that we are like to lose many thousand of Lives, &c'er they be reduced to the condition they were in, in 7. ly last, besides the Expence of some Millions of Treasure.

Surely, if the putting an end to the Wars in that Kingdom had been sincerely intended, it had been no difficult matter to have penned a Declaration in such Terms as might have effected it: We have seen modern as well as old Presidents of Declarations, which have ef-

fectcd great Designs, when they were no whit observed, after Possession of what the Prince aimed at.

But, as if it had not been sufficient to debar the better sort of all hopes of subsistence, an after Declaration was agreed upon, at once to impoverish the whole Body of the Commoners, more than if they had paid twelve Subsidies, and that was by debasing the Brass and Copper Coin.

In the time of *K. James* this Money was made currant, and the Soldiers were paid in it, and once in a Month, or so, the Pay-Masters took in the Brass-money from Suttlers, or others who received it from the Soldiers, if they desired an Exchange, and they received Gold or Silver for it. But this Proclamation sinking this Brass Money to the intrinsic Value, whereby every 20 s. was scarce worth 2 d. it was such a sudden impoverishing of the Common People, and Tradesmen, as was unsupportable: So that this so wisely contrived Proclamation, by little and little, by common Consent is little observed; for I am informed, by one lately come from *Dublin*, that a Crown of that Coin of *K. James's* now passeth for 4 s.

I think very few will judge these two Proclamations to have contributed any thing to the Reduction of that Kingdom, but rather to the exasperating the whole Body of the Nation, even to the *Rapparees*; and I am well assured, that one whose Pen was used in the draught of these, is so sensible of the mischievous Effects of them, that he wisheth he had lost the fore Finger of his Hand, when he was ordered to write them.

But these have not been the only *Remoras* of annexing that Kingdom to this Crown, but the fatal Council of laying Siege to *Limerick*, hath impeded it more than any thing hitherto. If the Army had marched to *Cork* and *King'sale*, those two important Places might have been reduced in six hours, without the Treasure that has been since expended in order to reduce them; and then we had

had sooner been Masters of all the Ports towards *England*, and the famous Road of *Kinsale* might have been a secure Harbour for our Fleet, and by a Blockade *Limerick* might have been kept from doing mischief, and a Siege laid to it at a more seasonable opportunity.

From all these instances I think it may rationally be concluded, that some Peoples designs have been to keep up the Trade of War. I cannot condemn Foreigners, or Souldiers of Fortune; by such arts they are enriched, without much hazard: but I think the wisdom or integrity of our Countrymen, who are consulted in such matters, deserves no great commendation from any who love Settlement and Peace rather than War and Confusion.

Ent surely it behoves all Members of the Commons House, who are chosen as the Tutors of their Country, to make a strict enquiry into these particulars, and be well satisfied in the disposal of the late Monies, by which a great many are known to have mightily increased their Fortunes, while so many Country Farmers, Housekeepers and Tradesmen are reduced to Alms, and so many true Protestants plundered and abused by our outrageous Foreigners and profligate English Souldiers, as the Eminent *Mr. Hill of Hilsbury* can witness, where they cut in pieces the very Hangings, and Curtains to make Breches thereof; neither did the Lady *Antrim*, the Lady *Arglass*, or that ancient Gentleman Sir *Butler*, notwithstanding the near relation he hath to the D. of *Ormond*, and his Protection granted, escape any better.

But to finish the matter of *Ireland*: It is true, new Supplies under the E. of *Marborough* are sent, but that is done for another end, that the Dutch may be transported back hither, as Persons more to be confided in here, and to be taken more care of, it being more conformable to the grand design, that *English*, *Irish* and *Scots* may destroy one another, provided that the Pretorian Band of Foreigners be preserved.

I now come to the second Head.

wherein I shall endeavour to prove, that notwithstanding our giving of Money, as liberally as desired, we cannot expect to give any great stop to the French K's Conquests, as Matters now stand.

I intend no Panegyrick on that great King, though, if he were not our Enemy, he might deserve it above any of his Predecessors. I think it cannot be paralleled in History, that he singly, without the Conjunction of any other Prince, should maintain a War in his Enemies Country, against the whole Empire, the Crown of *Spain*, the *Low Countries*, *Ille*, and *Savoy*: So that he is entirely surrounded with the potentest Enemies that any Country was ever begirt with; and yet notwithstanding, no one of them have been able to make an Impression upon him, but he hath defended himself, and annoy'd his Adversaries with a Success beyond the expectation of Mankind.

The D. of *Savoy*, solicited by the Emperour and *Spain*, and encourag'd by our Mony, hath been the latest who entered into Confederacy against him, and is like to be the first who will repent it, having very high lost his Dukedom, as it was, before, to *K. Henry*, Grandfather to this present French King.

The States cannot be able to subsist long. A most intelligent Gentleman, who attended our Army in their Service this Spring, told me, *That one of their considerabest Magistrates told him, that they would use their utmost Effort this Summer to maintain the War; but if they had not some extraordinary Success, they must make the best Terms they could; for they were no longer able to sustain the Charge of it, considering the loss of their Trade.*

What shall we therefore judge they can do, seeing they never suffered so great a Loss since they were a free State, as they have done this Year at *Fleury*, and at *Sea*, except when this very King overran almost all their Country, *Holland* itself scarce excepted; the preventing of which destruction was ascribed to the interposing of *K. Charles II.*

As to their excessive Taxes I shall give but Two Instances,

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The first I had related from a Tradesman here, who received it from his Correspondent there, *That a Gentleman having the Tutition of two Orphans, paid the whole annual Income of their Estate, which was 1500 Pounds a Year, and this Year being assessed 500 Guilders more than the last, was forced to yield up his Tutition to the Magistrates.*

The other is what the first mentioned Gentleman told me, *That while he was there very many gave over their Houses and Trades, by reason of excessive Taxes. He knew some Coffee Houses, who paid 50 Pounds for Licence for one Year, besides the Tax according to the Rent of their Houses, upon their Trades, and personal Estates, with the general Excise.*

These, I hear, are Presidents intended to be follow'd in Raising of Money here, together with a new Imposition on Chimneys, to be purchas'd at ten years value, and the Sale of such confiscated Estates in *Ireland*, as are not receiv'd for the Uses before specified. But I think these two last will find few Adventurers.

How the States, or at least the *Dutch* Seamen, will resent the Lord *Torrington's* suffering them to sustain the Loss on our Coast, without affording them Relief, we shall not know, till there be some Joint Engagement against the French Fleet, especially since after such, upon the whole, I do not wonder that we have such Rumours of the Dutch Endeavours to make a separate Peace, as they did once, when they were in League with the Emperor and King of *Spain*, leaving them in the lurch. And it is to be suspected, that if the States endeavour it not speedily, the Rable will compel them to it; for it is well known that there still remains a Party there, who never loved the P. of O. and are no better inclin'd to him as King.

As to the Emperor, this Years Successes of the *Turks* in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, must necessitate him to consent to a Peace, either in *Christendom*, or with the *Pers*. The latter he cannot effect, as Matters now stand, upon ho-

nourable Terms: And the *Venetians* being animated by the taking of the important Place, *Nepos di Malagha*, will be very solicitous to pursue their good Success with all Vigour imaginable on their Side; and we may be assured that the Pope, being so deeply interested in the advancing the Prosperity of that Republick, will leave nothing unattempted to induce the Emperor to prosecute the War against the Infidels, rather than here. And the *German* Princes, sufficiently harassed by the War with *France*, wherein they have suffer'd so much Burning and Devastation, even to the paying of Contributions beyond the *Rhine*, will gladly embrace the Overtures of Peace with that Crown, especially finding that this Year, hitherto, they have not been able to perform one Action, the Benefit whereof may countervail the Charge of one Brigade of their Army.

Farthermore, it is to be consider'd, how disadvantageously the Confederates make War against *France*: The several Princes are necessitated in their several Districts, to obtain the consent of their respective States to raise Money; after which there must be an adjusting of all Things by Plenipotentiaries, or Conference of those absolute Princes, by which means they are generally so late in the Field, that the *French* King effects a great part of his Designs, e'er they come from their Winter Quarters. And when they are advanc'd, the Princes have almost as many independent Generals, as they have Armies; and it is well known with what Difficulty the *German* Princes, especially the Emperor, raiseth Money to maintain so expensive a War. Whereas 'tis certain, the *French* King hath made a secure Fund for nine Years beforehand, to defray all the stated and contingent Charges of the War, and can with the same facility renew it at the Expiration of that Term, by a singular Way he hath above all other Princes, that even in times of Peace the whole Revenue of his Kingdom comes into his Exchequer every 4 or 5 Years.

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He ordereth his Armies by his own single Command, without any other co-ordinate Power, or dependence on the Suffrages of others, whereby all his Affairs are managed with secrecy and steadiness. From whence we must conclude, that he is likelier to weary out the Confederates, even upon the Defensive part at their Charges, than they are to gain any Advantage upon him, even though we were able to provide our *Quota* of the Expence, and supply fresh Armies in conjunction, and according to the Exigence of the Confederates.

But what can we hope to do, when the Sheaf of Arrows is unloosed, and any of the Confederates shall make a separate Peace? Can it be conceiv'd that we can be able to cope with the French K. when the Circumvallation is broken, and he shall be at Liberty to turn an uninterrupted Force upon us; when we are exhausted by Taxes, and so divided among our selves upon account of the Interest of King *James*, and the ill understanding betwixt the Ch. of *England* and the Dissenters, the Monarchical and Common-wealth Men?

The Case being thus, I think we ought seriously to consider for whose Cause we began the War: It was first proclaimed here; and it was one of the great By-fores, both to the French, and Confederates, that King *James* would join with neither Party; but that he designed to have stood neuter. But the States and Confederates found a means to make him flee for Refuge to that Prince who solely was not an Enemy to his Person, and was likeliest to protect him, though he had declined to join in a League with him; which, as matters fell out, had been his onely Security.

So that upon the whole we may conclude, that the Revolution here was the Contrivance of the Confederates; but principally of *Spain* and the States, to make a powerfull Diversion against

France, and engage us in their Quarrell; and to add the whole Force of *England* to their Defence.

Since therefore the War was begun, and is continued for the Advantage of the States, and those Princes, and hath been so destructive to our selves, that, as it is managed, besides the ineffimable Losses we have sustained, we are forced to contribute so great a share of our own Money to support them.

It cannot but be thought most advisable, before you consent to raise Money, to send Commissioners to the States, to know whether they be able and willing to continue the War, and such onely to be sent, who may discover the Secrets of their Councils, and their Strength; and if they find them in both agreeable to our Wishes, then to know what share they will bear of the Expences; for it is but reasonable, that as we sustain all this Misery and Damage for their sakes, and in subservience to their single Interest, they, and not we, should bear the Burthen.

For to tell us at this time of the day, that we have put K. *William* upon the War, is a cold Consolation, and an ill Requital for our Easiness to subject our selves to Dutch Stratagems.

If therefore the States and Confederates will pay the Debt of four Millions, be it more or less, I think our Country Men will be content to submit to the raising a Fund of two Millions more for the next Campaign, and upon no other Terms, I think, it can be advisable to grant any Money at all, nor then, without a just Account of what is expended.

There was something more added, but it was onely Assurance of Friendship, and that it was from an earnest Desire to serve his Country that he had composed it: Such therefore as it is, I send you, and judge you will think I have fully obey'd your Commands, who am,

Yours assuredly,